PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 388-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Miller, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Tappenagari, Mrs. Jeanne Schubert, and Mrs. Lena Burk of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shutter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

?Freed S-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

In the summers of 1953 and 1955, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture: during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by cupparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

The authors wish to acknowledge an indebtedness to a number of persons and institutions who have aided their work. Four of the contributors recall with gratitude the encouragement given to their first field projects by the late professors A. L. Kroeber, E. W. Gifford and R. H. Lowie. The atmosphere of excitement and dedication these men brought to the tasks of basic ethnographic research, and their unflagging interest in the cultures of western North America, were communicated to any student who chose to do field investigation in this region. Robert F. Heizer and Omer C. Stewart have continually made the results of their own extensive studies available, and represent an exemplary tradition of scholarship through their generous sharing of quantities of unpublished data with serious students. We wish also to thank Grace Dangberg and Juanita Schubert who, as permanent residents of Carson Valley in Nevada, have maintained continuing interest in local anthropological problems and have assisted many of those who came to study there. James W. Calhoun, Director, and Richard Shutler, Curator, of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City have made the facilities and collections of this center available to visiting scholars. The consistent cooperation of the staff of the Carson Indian Agency at Stewart, Nevada, has also been an important aid to research.

A special note of appreciation is extended to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. of the University of Washington who has given unstintingly of his time and expert knowledge of the Washo language. His phonemic system has been used by most of the contributors to this volume, and his forthcoming dictionary of the Washo language is eagerly awaited as a much needed reference work. The editor also wishes to acknowledge the aid of the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund which has done much to facilitate the presentation of these collected papers.

Finally, we wish to dedicate this volume to the Washo Tribe of California and Nevada, and to all those individuals who have cooperated with us to make our field work among them a rich and rewarding experience. Such experiences are not easily forgotten and will, for many of us, lay the basis of a lifelong friendship and undiminishing concern for the tenacious Washo people.

Warren L. d'Azevedo
University of Pittsburgh
November, 1962.

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 389-78) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

152
178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 615-18; Stewart, 1944, 83-3).

Notes

114
115
122
128 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticised early drafts of the paper.

Notes

114

1. This paper is based on materials appearing in the doctoral dissertation of the senior author (An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies, Northwestern University, 1957). The authors wish to thank the Graduate School, Northwestern University and the Cardiovascular Research Department of the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, for generous financial support which made the field work on which this paper is based possible. Thanks are due for the advice and support of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Professor M. J. Herskovits and Professor William Bascom.

Bibliography

113

Scotch, Norman A.

1957 An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies. Ph. D dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston.

1960 A Preliminary Report on the Relation of Sociocultural Factors to Hypertension among the Zulu. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 84, Art. 17, pp. 1000-9.

Voget, Fred W.

1956 The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 249-63.

172

4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

172
174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tasigat Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

● 122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

102
172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. The author worked among the Washo ● 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dowšaalí?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With [162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [621] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugíiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

W [122]

DBD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-8).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

128

The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

122

113

Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-AR	Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk Lore.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticised parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

G. C. E.